THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 6 November, 1924 Number 11

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

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A REVOLUTIONARY ELECTION

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By P. BRAUN

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World of Labour - - Book Review

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VOLUME VI

At the request of numerous subscribers, THE LABOUR MONTHLY will in future be bound in annual volumes instead of six-monthly as heretofore. The present volume will accordingly cover all issues during 1924, and no index will appear until the publication of the December issue.

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NOTES of the MONTH

The Class Struggle and MacDonald—"Nobody Wanted It"—Canonising Campbell—Built on a Lie—Working Class Issues—The Capitalist State—A Significant Defence—Labour Movement versus Labour Cabinet—Two-faced Propaganda—Why the Dissolution—The Labour Government's Epoch—Giving Labour a Chance—Who is Labour?—What is the Labour Party?—What is the Petty Bourgeoisie?—The Rôle of the Petty Bourgeoisie—A Sterile Government—Working Class Unrest—Bourgeois Dissatisfaction—The Two Issues—MacDonald's Leap—No Escape for MacDonald—Workers Finding Their Way

THE present election reveals the sharpening class struggle in Britain. It has been an election approaching nearer in character to direct political class struggle of the workers and the bourgeoisie than on any previous occasion. And this, not because of Mr. MacDonald and the Labour Cabinet, but in spite of Mr. MacDonald and the Labour Cabinet. This is the significant fact about the election and the crisis which led to it. Mr. MacDonald, the apostle of class conciliation, the unrelenting antagonist of every conception of class struggle, has had to appear at the head of the workers' forces engaged in what his principal lieutenant has not unjustifiably termed "political class struggle." More than that. He has had actually to assume the posture of calling an election and risking his own government in order to defend the right of Russian Communists to borrow money from the City of London and of British Communists to conduct seditious propaganda. Could there be a more pitiful stroke of comic Nemesis for the hero of anti-Bolshevism? What is the explanation of this extraordinary position? Why, after having suffered eleven defeats with equanimity, should Mr. MacDonald have found it necessary on these two issues to call an election? Are we to suppose with the bourgeois propagandists that a mysterious hidden hand of Communism has held the Cabinet in its grasp? Nothing of the kind. At the very same moment we find Mr. MacDonald and his

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colleagues engaged in the most savage and ferocious warfare against not only the Communists, but against all Left elements in the Labour Party (Poplarism, strikes, &c.), even to the length of expulsion and excommunication. It is clear that it is not Mr. MacDonald who has been converted to the class struggle. It is the class struggle that has proved stronger than Mr. MacDonald. Not through the will of MacDonald, but against his will and over his body, the class struggle forces its way forward. The class struggle, which the MacDonald Cabinet existed to conceal and deny, has taken its revenge on the MacDonald Cabinet.

WHY did Mr. MacDonald decide to dissolve? It is clear that he did not dissolve for the love of the two issues on which nominally he called the election. On the contrary in all his speeches he seeks to minimise and conceal these issues, treat them as "minor" matters, "pretexts," &c. It is clear, therefore, that if he decided to dissolve on these issues, it was because in his view the general situation compelled him to do so, and not for the sake of those two issues. What, then, was the character in the general situation that compelled him to dissolve (according to his own repeated statement) against his own wishes? Are we to say with the official Labour propagandists that the bourgeoisie "forced" the election? But nothing is more certain than that the bourgeoisie did not want the election. Three days before the crisis we find the official Labour organ sneering at the bourgeoisie for their fear of an election.

> All its newspapers, Liberal and Tory alike, are now wailing over the idea of a General Election. . . . *They throw out any suggestion they can think of for avoiding the election that they dread.*—*Daily Herald*, October 7, 1924.

And after the dissolution we find the Editor of the *Daily Herald* declaring :—

> The truth was that neither Conservatives nor Liberals wanted an election.—HAMILTON FYFE, at Tunbridge Wells, October 10, 1924.

The notorious *New Statesman* article is even more unhesitating :—

> For it is he [MacDonald] and he almost alone who is responsible for the present undesired crisis.

Thus there is some basis for the complaint of each of the parties

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against the other in the present election that " nobody wanted it " and the accusation of each against the other that " they began it." The election of 1924 that " nobody wanted " came as relentlessly and suddenly in its own fashion, and out of apparently as small an immediate issue, as the war of 1914 that also " nobody wanted."

THE fact is that a stage in the class struggle has been reached with this election at which none of the regular parties can any longer recognise the facts clearly for what they are, because they can only be recognised on the basis of the class struggle. The whole official Labour propaganda has to twist itself into the most monstrous shapes in order to succeed in not seeing a situation which shouts class struggle from the housetops. We are told that the election was forced by a cunning " plot " of the capitalist parties to " murder " the Labour Government on the " pretexts " of the Communist prosecution and the Soviet Treaty. Yet if one thing is more certain than another, it is that the Communist prosecution and the Soviet Treaty are anything but " pretexts " in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand it is far more doubtful whether their intention was to remove the Labour Government already at this point, and not rather to put up a strong fight to control it and only to remove it if compelled. At any rate, as soon as the Labour Government revealed its intention to dissolve, the alarm of the bourgeoisie was immediate, and they made the most frantic efforts through their Liberal section to reach any and every kind of accommodation with the Labour Government. Thus the exact opposite of the official Labour propaganda would seem to be the case. Instead of the bourgeoisie using the " pretexts " of the two Communist issues to " murder " the Labour Government, it is clear that they were perfectly serious on the two Communist issues to get the decisions reversed, but it is very doubtful whether they were yet ready to remove the Labour Government. But the climax of picturesque imagination is reached when the official Labour propagandists have to deal with the Communist prosecution itself. Here is a perfectly simple case in which an active Communist and responsible member of his Party Executive issues a party appeal to fellow workers in the army and navy to stand by their class and organise for the future struggle. There is no misunder-

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standing this, which is an ordinary part of all revolutionary working-class propaganda all over the world and the duty of any Communist to propagate. The thing is of course absolutely indefensible *except* on the basis of revolutionary working-class solidarity. And this is what happens to it when the official I.L.P. Election Bulletin proceeds to tell the story of the case:—

> J. R. Campbell, a young man who had, incidentally, been disabled for life in the war and won the military medal for gallantry in the field, was temporarily in charge of the *Workers' Weekly* when it printed an appeal to the troops not to allow themselves to be used in industrial disputes—technically "sedition."—*Independent Labour Party Information Committee. Special Election Note No.* 1

Whoever wrote that knew that he was writing with his tongue in his cheek, and probably most of his readers knew it too.

THE fact that the official Labour propaganda of the election has to be built upon a lie is very significant of the present stage of development of the Labour Party. It is not an accident, but from this time forward an essential fact of the situation to-day. It means that the official Labour Party has reached such a stage of dependence on the bourgeoisie and denial of the class struggle that, in the face of the growing insistence of the class struggle, it can only maintain itself by direct lying. Henceforth it will have to lie, and lie more and more shamelessly as time goes on; every Communist issue, that is to say, the issues of the class struggle, as they occupy more and more the centre of the arena, will have to be "pretexts" and "sham issues" and "trumped-up stunts" or else "sectionalism" and "anti-social greed" and "immoral agitation," &c., &c.; until with the final development of the revolutionary stage the remains of the right wing of the Labour Party will have to tread the familiar path of their fellow social democratic parties of the Continent in a debauch of lying about the workers' cause. The divorce between the Labour Party and the class struggle has reached a point at which it can no longer be covered up under a mask of phrases.

IT is therefore necessary to state the position definitely. The immediate issues of the election, the Communist prosecution withdrawal and the Soviet Treaty, were not issues of the Labour Government. They *were* issues of the working class, just as they

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were issues of the bourgeoisie, and were fought for between the working class and the bourgeoisie; but they were *not* issues of Mr. MacDonald and the Labour Cabinet. Mr. MacDonald had no wish to fight on such issues of a Communist, that is to say working class, character, and indeed endeavoured to relegate them to the background in his speeches as "minor" matters. He was concerned to hide them rather than to display them. In spite of the nominal position of defence he had to assume, his point of view with regard to them was essentially the same as the point of view of the bourgeoisie—namely, the point of view of the defence of capitalism. Working-class pressure had in either case compelled certain *acts* from the Labour Cabinet in reversal of acts previously carried out and announced (the Soviet Treaty was reached *after* the failure of the negotiations had been announced; the Communist prosecution was withdrawn *after* the proceedings had been initiated with Government sanction), but in either case, apart from the superior strategic position of the working-class forces, the acceptance of these acts by a Labour Cabinet was not essentially different from their acceptance by a bourgeois Cabinet; that is to say, the acts were accepted in fact as a result of the given political situation, but they were not accepted in the spirit. The working-class outlook which lay behind them was not accepted. In the case of the Soviet Treaty, Mr. MacDonald made it clear in his speech at Derby, not only that he regarded himself as the representative of British capitalism in relation to Soviet Russia, but that he was completely prepared to retreat from his position and so fundamentally to alter and amend the Treaty in accordance with the wishes of the British capitalists as to lead the Soviet Press justifiably to complain that the old Treaty was being torn up and a new one proposed. In the case of the Communist prosecution withdrawal, not only did Mr. MacDonald at first endeavour on September 30 to wash his hands of the whole affair and imply that he had nothing to do with it and would leave his Attorney-General to face the music alone, but even when altered circumstances led him to take up the defence, the defence put forward by the Labour Government was in complete opposition to the position of the whole Labour Movement. This fact is so important in relation to the inner situation of the movement as to merit special attention.

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THE Campbell Case, apart from its immediate importance in relation to the crisis, is of very great educational value for its extremely clear display of the forces of the political situation. Here is revealed with a wealth of detail the workings of the holy "State" in bourgeois democracy; the worker may see, stripped of all trappings, the function of the State as the guardian of capitalism, whoever may be His Majesty's Ministers; he may learn the police distinction between "harmless" and "dangerous" socialism (meaning "harmless" and "dangerous" to the bourgeoisie); in these hasty colloquies of police magistrates, public prosecutors and Ministers in their West-end clubs as to what sentence to give a particular working-class offender or whether to let a prosecution drop and under what formula, he can see the workings of "pure" bourgeois justice far removed from the odious class character of workers' tribunals; and in the delicate negotiations "in the Prime Minister's room" following on the indignant agitation of working-class organisations and representatives, followed in turn by the furious campaign of the capitalist Press and the heated political controversy he can see the bare confrontation of classes through all the sacrosanct institutions of the "classless" State. But although these permanent results of the Campbell case, and the consequent broadcasting of the Communist working-class message to the British soldiers and sailors all over the world to stand by their class in the struggle of the future, are probably of more lasting importance than the whole agitation of the crisis, still even more immediately important is the lesson the worker can learn of the situation of his own working-class movement.

WHAT was the offence in the Campbell case? It was an appeal to soldiers and sailors to stand by their class (*not* a humanitarian appeal to lay down their arms, as subsequent Labour apologists have tried to pretend, but a revolutionary working-class appeal for a common front against the common enemy). To oppose such a proposition before a working-class audience would not be easy; to uphold the political prosecution of a Communist by a Labour Government for such working-class propaganda impossible at present. The whole Labour Press from Left to Right condemned the prosecution. "A stupid prosecution

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which should never have been begun," said *Forward*. " A shocking error of judgment," said the *New Leader*. The *New Statesman* found the whole thing a foolish mistake. Even the *Daily Herald*, which had taken no part in the agitation for release, came out with discreet satisfaction after the withdrawal as a " rap " for " the war mind "; " we hope there will be many more." Thus the whole Labour Press, speaking for the whole Labour movement, condemned the political prosecution by a Labour Government of a Communist for Communist propaganda as a mistake; and the greater part of the Labour Press, including the *Daily Herald*, *Forward* and the *New Leader*, expressed sympathy with the point of view of the defendant as a traditional working-class point of view. But what was the position of the Labour Government ? The position of the Labour Government was in complete opposition to the view of the whole Labour Movement. The official defence of the Labour Government was that the prosecution was only dropped because there was a danger of it being unsuccessful; that the prosecution was rightfully instituted and only withdrawn because they had got hold of the wrong man; and that if they had got hold of the man they wanted they would have carried it through without hesitation. In other words the Labour Government declared that they stood for the political prosecution of Communists. The Labour movement declared that they were against the political prosecution of Communists. The Labour Movement demanded the withdrawal of the prosecution because they were afraid it might be successful. The Labour Government decided on the withdrawal (so they tell us) because they were afraid if might be unsuccessful.

THIS complete division between the Labour Government and the Labour movement, and still more the fact that not a single comment or criticism has been made upon this division and the completely double and contradictory character of the official Labour statements, is deeply symptomatic of the present artificial situation of the Labour Party. For it is not confined to the present case, but runs right through the position. The whole issue behind the Campbell case, the issue of the propaganda of working-class solidarity in the army and navy, was not and could not be discussed in the Labour Press. It was impossible to attack a conception

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so close to the deepest traditions of the working-class movement. It was impossible for a Labour Government to defend it. If this is an offence, declared a Labour Member, half of us on these benches should be in the dock. If the offence could only be successfully proved, the Labour Government had to declare, we should at once put the offender in prison. Only a year ago the official Labour Party had moved an amendment on the very lines of giving the individual soldier the right to refuse service in industrial disputes. The Labour Government in office had to repudiate the amendment they had moved in Opposition.

WHAT is the meaning of this division? Does it mean that there is a conflict within the leading circles of the Labour Party? Does it mean that the *Daily Herald* and *New Leader* are carrying on a campaign against the Labour Government? Nothing of the kind. The elements that are carrying on the Labour Press and publicity are essentially the same as are carrying on the Labour Ministry. But it does mean that there is a conflict deep down which the leading elements have to take into account. It means that from this point on the propaganda of the Labour Party has to be twofold in character, one side for the working class and one side for the bourgeoisie. Just as MacDonald issued two May Day Manifestoes as Prime Minister, one for the workers on working-class solidarity and the Socialist International, and one for the bourgeoisie on the union of peoples and the League of Nations, so in more serious matters. It means once again that from this time on the whole policy and propaganda of the Labour Party has to be built upon a lie. In their Press and on the platform they have to maintain contact with the working class on the basis of whom they have won their position; in their practice and their policy they have to perform their service to the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois State to which they are tied and where real power resides. Thus they are unable to face directly and honestly a single fact when that fact is a fact of the class struggle. Just as in their propaganda on the cause of the election, so in their treatment of the Campbell case. In their press and on the platform they have to appear to misunderstand the Campbell article as a kind of pacifist article (see *Forward*, the *New Leader* and the *Daily Herald*). In their Press and

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on the platform Campbell has to appear as an innocent offender, " a crippled ex-soldier," prosecuted

> because he preached the doctrine of Human Brotherhood.—*Daily Herald* leader, October 6, 1924.

But in the House of Commons, faced by the hostile bourgeois benches, they sternly condemn the illegality of the article and roundly declare that

> His Majesty's Government are determined that, so far as they can help it, the propaganda of Communism is to have no chance in this country.—The LABOUR PRIME MINISTER, House of Commons, October 8, 1924.

The promises maintained before the bourgeoisie must be carried out within the movement. And so we get the expulsion policy at the Labour Party Conference. The elements that are too honest to conform to the new diplomacy and call the facts of the class struggle other than what they are must be excluded. The Lie must be preserved from the harsh breath of militant working-class criticism. The movement must be safely shepherded into the pen of bourgeois slavery, still with the old phrases and banners flying as near as may be, though a little tattered (" England Arise " replacing " The Red Flag "), and those that rebel must be thrown out. The consequences of building the movement upon a lie will be no less terrible than in 1914 when the movement was no less built upon a lie.

IT is now necessary to return to the central question of the character of the crisis which led Mr. MacDonald to dissolve. Important as are the Campbell case and the negotiations of the Soviet Treaty for the part they play in the general situation, and in particular for the light they throw on the situation of the working-class movement, they do not by themselves provide the key to the crisis. We have seen that Mr. MacDonald dissolved of his own decision, in the face of the offers and even of the appeals of the bourgeoisie. We have seen further that, although Mr. MacDonald dissolved nominally on two issues of a Communist character, he certainly did not dissolve for the sake of those two issues or because of the importance he attached to them, but on the contrary he has consistently tried to hide those issues, to minimise them and even

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to distort them. It is, therefore, necessary to ask what were the factors in the situation which impelled Mr. MacDonald to decide to dissolve so hastily after so short a tenure of office, in spite of the heavy disadvantage of appearing to dissolve on two issues of so inconvenient a character to himself and so advantageous to Communist propaganda. For the answer to this question it is necessary to consider the general conditions governing the existence of the Labour Government.

THE Labour Government was formed as a result of a situation common to this and other European capitalist countries after the war. This was a situation of very great economic instability, of considerable capitalist disorganisation and division and uncertainty of direction, and of growing working-class consciousness. The immediate revolutionary dangers after the war had been overcome; but there was no sign of restoration of normal capitalist working, and the workers, though beaten down, were gathering force anew. In this situation the pre-war capitalist technique was no longer adequate, and various new experiments in forms of government were made, which were all symptoms of the weakness of the post-war bourgeoisie. These experiments took two dominant forms: Fascism and Social Democratic Ministerialism. In countries where the revolutionary forces were strong or threatening in the working class, Fascism became the ruling type. In countries where the corruption of the working-class movements by the traditional capitalist democratic practices had been long established, the initiation of a period of Left Blocs, Pacifist Democracy, Socialist Ministries &c. became the alternative method. In both cases the aim was the same: to carry over capitalist power secure from working-class attack through a difficult period of weakness.

IN no country was this general situation more marked than in England, the traditional home of the most experienced and cunning capitalist ruling class in the world, now mortally stricken by the consequences of the war and the loss of their old monopoly and entering on a period of economic decline. The merciless blows of the capitalist offensive had already stricken down the workers, ill shielded as they were by old-fashioned middle

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nineteenth century forms of organisation and without leadership or staff work or any revolutionary tradition. But the workers were beginning again to recover, and it was necessary to find some form of spiritual consolation to reconcile them to their lowered estate of cut wages, intensified labour and chronic unemployment. There was no sign of improvement in the situation; successive bourgeois ministries were discredited, and the growing four million Labour vote was a portent of what might well become a deluge. To continue to let the growing anger and resentment at the inevitable failures and difficulties in front fall upon the head of bourgeois ministries was to invite the deluge. It was necessary in accordance with the traditional policy of the English bourgeoisie to draw off a section of the approaching forces and by seeming concession to them to lull the awakening masses, to divide and dishearten their own supporters, to use them to combat and discipline all rebellious elements far more intimately and effectively than the bourgeoisie themselves could do, and finally by letting the brunt of the inevitable future failures fall upon them instead of upon the bourgeoisie to discredit them and throw them aside when their purpose was served. After prolonged consideration and discussion the bourgeoisie decided to give the Labour Party leadership the opportunity to form a government—under control.

WHAT was the new element that was thus drawn into the magic circle of capitalist rule? To all appearance it was a strange enough motley company of ex-pacifists, lay preachers, political agents and trade union secretaries that now trooped on to the stage to occupy the historic offices of British bourgeois administration. But on examination the character of the new stratum readily lends itself to definition. The composition of the new Cabinet (apart from the direct bourgeois representatives —Chelmsford, Haldane, Thomson—inserted in key positions to facilitate control and guide the hands of the new apprentices) reveals two principal types: representatives of the professional and salaried classes, the most able and intelligent members of whom had, after the decline of the old capitalist parties, been increasingly finding scope for their energies in the new Labour Party; and representatives of the trade union bureaucracy, which for the past twenty

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years and more had been slowly pushing its way forward, on the basis of their control of the organised movement, to Parliamentary position. These two elements had been in marked divergence during the war; the radical middle-class elements, representing a social stratum ground down by the triumph of Big Capital during the war, had been in common with the rest of left liberalism more or less timidly pacifist and opposition in tendency, and driven into the wilderness; the trade union bureaucracy, on the other hand, receiving an enormous accession of power from open alliance with Big Capital, was strongly jingo and entered into direct governmental coalition. These divergencies were now, however, forgotten, and a happy union cemented on a basis of common opposition to the revolutionary working class. (It was the fight with Bolshevism, declares the biographer of MacDonald, which "ultimately proved the means by which he at once saved and conquered the Labour Party.") Thus if we take simply the new elements which were drawn into the Cabinet, we see at once that we are dealing with petty bourgeois elements entering into a coalition with the representatives of the big bourgeoisie. But we have still to answer the question of the basis of their power in order to determine their class position and therefore their political rôle.

THE basis of power of the new elements, which made it worth the while of the bourgeoisie to take them into association, was the Labour Party. The Labour Party contains within its ranks about three million workers, or nearly 25 per cent. of the British working class, but the strongest and organised section. It is not, however, based directly on its working-class membership as a class organisation organising the workers equally and unitedly on a class programme: were that so, the workers would be able to control it; but in point of fact the local Labour parties, through which the workers are most directly represented, have the least, and indeed an infinitesimal, power. Instead it is based on the national trade corporations of the workers, which grew up in the nineteenth century as the historic form of British working-class organisation, and which, although organs of class struggle, enshrine within themselves all the sectional traditions and privileges and monopolies of trade groups of a minority of the workers from

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the period of capitalist peace and stability. Thus the Labour Party is an organisation of the workers, but it is a " weighted " organisation of the workers. And the " weighting " is just on the side of those exclusive privileges and sectional interests within an accepted capitalist framework which serve to separate off the workers thus organised from the common interests of the working class and the common struggle of the world working class. That is to say, the " weighting " is on the side of making the Labour Party a petty bourgeois party in practice, that is, a party organising the workers (and to that extent serving a working-class purpose), but drawing them in the wake of capitalism. It is this which makes easy the control by the directly petty bourgeois elements and the trade union bureaucracy which is the representative of the sectional reformist interests and therefore equally divorced from the working class as a class.

IT is essential to understand this rôle of the petty bourgeoisie in the Labour Party, because it is too often imagined that the question is a question of individuals. There is no crime in a workers' party entering into alliance with petty bourgeois elements; *on the contrary, a serious workers' party will endeavour to win over* as much as possible the petty bourgeoisie to a common front against Big Capital. But the question to be sure of in such an alliance is that the working class is winning over the petty bourgeoisie to a common fight against Capitalism and not that the petty bourgeoisie is making use of the working class for its own purposes in the service of Capitalism. This is the question of questions in the Labour Party, the real issue alike behind the policy of the Labour Government and the policy of expulsion. It is in this sense that the leadership and policy of the Labour Party is a petty bourgeois leadership and policy, although the party is based upon the workers. The workers only exist passively in the party as an electoral machine for the petty bourgeoisie, without any power to control it actively as a class force (and every feature of the complicated Labour Party Constitution, as well as the expulsion of elements known to contain some of the most tried and honest working-class elements, reveals the constant manipulation for this purpose); while the leaders are able to present themselves as divorced from any class basis, repre-

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sentatives of the community at large, and free to enter the service of capitalism and imperialism without question—that is to say, as petty bourgeois representatives, separate from the conflict of bourgeoisie and proletariat and endeavouring to ally themselves with both. Thus we are able to reach the definition of the character of the Labour Government as a government of petty bourgeois elements in coalition with representatives of the big bourgeoisie, basing themselves on the support of the workers and owing their position to the value to Capitalism of their claim to be able to control the working class, but placed in office by the decision of the bourgeoisie and only acting in all big issues in subservience to the bourgeoisie.

NOW from this analysis it is possible to draw certain conclusions. The rôle of the petty bourgeoisie in government is historically well established from 1848 up to the present day, and through all the changes in the particular situation presents certain well marked characteristics. In the first place the petty bourgeoisie normally comes to office during a period of revolutionary struggle in a moment of temporary deadlock and indecision. In the second place the petty bourgeoisie bases itself upon the workers and even the " threat " of revolution, but is in practice only able to act in accordance with the wishes of the bourgeoisie, because the alternative means to face the revolutionary class struggle from which it shrinks. Therefore in the third place the petty bourgeoisie is unable to accomplish anything or to tackle any of the big problems with which the Government is faced, because it has no strong class basis or policy to give it the power to act. Therefore in the fourth place the petty bourgeoisie increasingly loses the support of the workers (whom it is only able to gather in during the early stages of their awakening while it is still possible to satisfy them with an illusory " people's " movement) as they by experience discover that the petty bourgeoisie can only give them phrases and not acts, and increasingly become conscious of their own class rôle. And finally, in the fifth place, as soon as the class struggle develops new force, the moment of the petty bourgeoisie, if it cannot " compose " the conflict, is over; and, after being more and more harassed and ground between the upper millstone of the bourgeoisie and the

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lower millstone of the proletariat, it finally surrenders the contest in despair and vanishes from the scene.

WITH this analysis in mind let us turn to the record of the MacDonald Labour Government. The MacDonald Labour Government was set in office by the bourgeoisie at a time of very great difficulty at home and abroad, when successive bourgeois ministries had been discredited, and the rising tide of working-class resentment was revealed in the fresh outburst of strikes during the previous twelve months and the growing Labour vote. At the outset the hopes of the workers were fixed on the MacDonald Government as inaugurating a new era, while a section of the bourgeoisie went into a panic. But it very soon became clear that the MacDonald Government was powerless to do anything save in accordance with the wishes of the bourgeoisie, and that it was in fact humbly wooing " national " approval as a faithful servitor of Finance Capital. Certain difficult and disagreeable tasks which it was the intention of Finance Capital to accomplish through the Labour Government were faithfully performed: namely, to carry through the Dawes Slave Plan and get the French out of the Ruhr; to carry through a new armaments programme involving a new type of cruiser and the expansion of air armaments; and to suppress without mercy the threatening revolts against the Empire in India, Irak and the Sudan. These tasks were accomplished to the accompaniment of pacifist phraseology. To ease the passage certain concessions of the traditional Liberal type without significance in principle were permitted, such as a small increase in unemployment pay and the partial remission of tea and sugar taxes (the gains of which were speedily swallowed up by the profiteers, as the Labour propagandists themselves were soon complaining). But apart from this there was no sign of any policy. On Unemployment there was nothing: " the cure for unemployment is not yet " was Mr. MacDonald's message to the Labour Party Conference, and in the King's speech which summed up the record of the Government it was declared that the encouragement of " trade and industry " was " the only means of dealing fundamentally with unemployment." On Housing there was nothing but a characteristic scheme for " the union of capital and labour " which showed diminishing prospect in

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the actual class situation of being able to produce the necessary workers' houses. Of the schemes of "National Development" there was nothing. Even in administration the Ministers were clay in the hands of their permanent officials, and the sacred principle of "continuity of policy" from their Right Wing predecessors was carried to lengths undreamt of before. The bourgeois propagandists actually began to make fun of the "do-nothing" and "mark-time" policy of the Government.

CRITICISM and protests began to grow in volume in working-class ranks. The workers showed themselves little disposed to listen to the Labour Ministers' exhortations to keep quiet and leave everything to them. Strikes, unofficial and official, broke out and developed in the face of Ministers' protests; and even though the whole propaganda machine of the Independent Labour Party was turned against them, it proved of no avail, and the I.L.P. organ had the pleasure of hearing itself officially condemned on the floor of the Trades Union Congress. A Trade Union "Left Wing" tendency developed, which revealed the rising spirit of the workers and showed itself of doubtful friendliness to the Labour Cabinet. Rank and file Labour M.P.s' demands for control of the Labour Cabinet became more insistent, and working-class pressure began to show signs of deflecting policy. Even the I.L.P. began to show signs of pressing advanced programmes on the Government, and through their chairman to criticise the Prime Minister for inaction. The prospects of the Labour Party Conference, which was postponed to October, looked as if there would be strong debates. MacDonald's attacks on the Left became more and more unreserved and bitter, culminating in the famous "Socialism" Preface, which launched out wholesale at the policy of "public doles, Poplarism, strikes for increased pay, limitation of output" as nothing to do with Socialism, complained that workmen are tempted to forget that they are all members of "a social unity" and declared that the "Socialist looks with some misgivings upon some recent developments in the conflicts between capital and labour. They are contrary to his spirit; he believes they are both immoral and uneconomic and will lead to disaster."

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AT the same time as the division between MacDonald and the working class was thus growing wider, and the workers were pressing forward to struggle without further regard to the helpless protesting figure of MacDonald, the bourgeoisie was also preparing to do battle and expressing increasing dissatisfaction with the MacDonald Ministry as no longer serving their purpose. The main objectives of carrying through the Dawes Report and the increased armaments programme had been accomplished. At home the MacDonald Government was increasingly proving unable to deliver the goods: it could not control the working class as the bourgeoisie had hoped. The bourgeoisie had hoped for an Industrial Truce as the price of a Labour Government; but in spite of the diligent propaganda of certain leaders no progress was made with this, and the Minister of Labour had apologetically to announce that, although good progress was being made with arbitration, " it seems absolutely impossible at the moment even to dream of any compulsion." This failure was very serious in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, as, if there were to be strikes and the Labour Government should prove unable to check them, a stronger Government would be needed to deal with them and one less amenable to working-class pressure. At the same time the international situation, with the question of Soviet Russia to the forefront, was strongly needing a government more directly under bourgeois control. And now the Labour Government was actually showing signs of weakening before working-class pressure. When such pressure actually succeeded in deflecting the policy of the Labour Government on the two issues of the Soviet Treaty and the Communist prosecution, the indignation of the bourgeoisie knew no bounds. The battle axes were sharpened; and preparations were made to take the strongest measures to bring the Government to heel or else remove it. This was the situation when Parliament reassembled. The MacDonald Ministry was being ground between the upper millstone of the bourgeoisie and the lower millstone of the proletariat.

IN this situation the two issues of the Soviet Treaty and the Communist prosecution took on something more than their own immediate importance. They became symbols of the struggle of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the control of the govern-

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ment. The two Communist issues became the symbols of the working-class claim (a fact deeply significant for the whole future of the struggle in Britain) and infuriated the bourgeoisie. Where the whole record of the Labour Government had only aroused the contempt, the indifference and even the praise of the bourgeoisie, the Communist issues aroused their fury. They prepared for battle to reassert their control. At the same time the spirit of the workers, sick at the continued dallying and surrenders of the Government, cheered and rose at the prospect of a struggle. In this position what was MacDonald to do? He could not satisfy both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. If he looked ahead, he could see no improvement in the position. Unemployment was rising again at an alarming pace and threatened soon to exceed the figure at the outset of the Labour Government. Abroad, there was an ugly situation in India, and a prospect of war in Irak. There was no line of policy to which he could look for an improvement—for he had no policy. He was losing ground in the working-class movement, and before long his tide with the electorate might begin to ebb. In this situation the two issues gave MacDonald the opportunity that he needed. It was in any case too late for him to retreat on them without a fatal rupture of his own followers. Let him take up the challenge on them, Communist though they were (while trying as much as possible to conceal their true character), and end his difficulties by a dissolution.

IT was in fact a desperate step, which at first alarmed several of his closest associates and colleagues. It meant to give prominence to just those Communist issues which it was most their desire to minimise and conceal. In its ultimate significance, however much he might seek to conceal the fact from himself, that decision to dissolve was a capitulation to Communism and the class struggle. But for the moment it spelled salvation. He could rally the whole movement behind him in the unity of the fight, shatter the doubts of his supporters and sweep the Labour Party Conference in a wave of enthusiasm. At the same time he could use the very situation to carry the war into the enemy's camp, turn on the Communists as the authors of all his misfortunes and induce the Conference in the ardour of electoral propaganda and the wooing

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of the petty bourgeoisie to carry the most rigorous sounding measures against the Communist working-class fighters. If he were returned to power as a result of the election, he would be in a new and stronger position to face his attackers on either side. To his bourgeois attackers he could say: "I have stood up to you before, and called an election, and returned the stronger for it. Have a care, or I can do so again." And to his working-class attackers he could say: "Look, how your foolishness came near to wrecking our whole Labour Government. We have just got through this time, but—Never Again!" And if he were returned in Opposition, he would be in a still stronger situation. He could then hide the barrenness and sterility of his government under the glorious tale of what they "would have" done. He could become again the leader against Capitalism, and restore his tarnished working-class reputation by the heroics of Opposition. And at the same time (while secretly thankful for the relief from a situation he was unable to face) he could turn the deadly finger of responsibility upon his Communist enemies for the wreck of the first Labour Government.

DOES this mean that MacDonald has saved himself by his dissolution, and restored himself as the leader of the working class? Nothing of the kind. The petty bourgeoisie does not so easily escape. The battle opened by the dissolution means that the class struggle has triumphed over MacDonald. It is not a battle of MacDonald and the bourgeoisie; it is a battle of the working class and the bourgeoisie. The electoral fight has more and more clearly taken on the character of class struggle. The coalition of the bourgeois forces reveals this; for not until and so far as driven by sheer necessity will the old bourgeois parties (however sham their differences) unite, because they know that that is the last stage to open class struggle. The movement of the masses is sweeping past MacDonald. The very fact that MacDonald has had to fight on two issues so alien to him, which he vainly endeavours to hide, shows that he is a prisoner of the class struggle. If he returns to power, he returns to all his old difficulties a hundred times intensified, and with a body of Labour representatives more numerous, and therefore more insistent, more exacting and less controllable than before. The final exposure of bourgeois democracy and parliamen-

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tarism will begin. The struggle between democracy and dictatorship, between MacDonald and Communism, will go forward. Even if he goes into Opposition, the respite will not be for long. His triumph at the Labour Party Conference was an unreal triumph: it is even doubtful whether the expulsion of the Communists can be carried out. Whether it can be carried out or not (and there is no doubt that ultimately the petty bourgeois machine will endeavour to save itself by these methods, even to the length of splitting the trade unions), not by these means will it be possible to chain the working-class forces. The spectacle of the endeavour to stem the tide of Communism in the working class by a machinery resolution is like Canute trying to stop the waves with a twelve inch rule.

THE followers of MacDonald declare that the working-class movement of this country was built up on the basis of parliamentary democracy. They lie. When a worker is asked to join a trade union (the basis of the Labour Party) is he asked whether he is a faithful and devout believer in parliamentary democracy, Calvinism and the apostolic succession, or is he asked whether he is prepared to do his duty as a worker and join in with the other workers and stop scabbing (*i.e.*, stand by his class)? For this is the basis (*i.e.*, the basis of trade union membership), on which 99 per cent. of the present members of the Labour Party have joined and to-day do belong to the Labour Party. Only one per cent. (35,000 against 3,155,000, according to this year's returns) join on the basis of their belief in parliamentary democracy, evolutionary socialism, Jesus Christ and the higher ethics. One per cent. on the basis of parliamentary democracy, 99 per cent. on the basis of working-class solidarity. This is the fact which blows sky-high the attempt to treat the Labour Party as a kind of bourgeois party on a theoretical basis, which can exclude Communists " in the same way as " Liberals and Conservatives. The only actual present basis of the Labour Party, whatever the eloquent words of Mr. MacDonald, is a union of trade unions in politics, that is, a union of working-class organisations of *all* workers on no other condition save the performance of their duty of working-class solidarity as so far understood. Therefore, the only basis of exclusion is the class basis, which automatically excludes Liberal and Conservative politics, but

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cannot exclude Communist politics, the only crime of which is to maintain working-class interests more unreservedly, consistently and completely than any sectional working-class organisation yet can or wishes to do. When, therefore, the ex-trade union parliamentary adventurers and honest middle-class muddleheads in the wake of Mr. MacDonald endeavour to fasten a non-working-class formula, such as parliamentary democracy, on the Labour Party, they are only showing their own narrowness and complete unconsciousness of the character of a working-class movement. Whoever tries to impose a bourgeois formula on a working-class movement is splitting that movement. If the basis of the Labour Party is parliamentary democracy, then the basis can no longer be the Trade Unions. The petty bourgeois democrats can only succeed in transforming the Labour Party after their own image by divorcing it from the working class. And whether they succeed or not in form, the working-class struggle will press forward beyond them to the battles of the future and the inevitable revolutionary issue, which larger and larger numbers of workers are beginning to see before them ever more clearly.

R. P. D.

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AFTER THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

By P. BRAUN

THE electoral campaign has pushed aside all the other questions and problems of the Labour Movement to-day. All the political parties competing for office—Conservative, Liberal and Labour—are engrossed in catching votes. The collective voter is the aim of all their platforms, manifestoes, speeches and appeals. Remembering that "Truth is great, and will prevail," I allow myself to say, at the risk of hurting some and angering others, that the elections, as a general rule, are only a crooked mirror wherein public opinion is reflected. Wealth, the Press, the Church and vote-catching stunts make themselves felt more sharply around the ballot box than the real interests of the masses. The present electoral campaign, of course, is little different from others. Its fundamental difference is only in its suddenness and briefness. There is all the more foundation to anticipate that it will give a distorted reflection of the real relation of social forces.

The ballot box cannot settle the burning questions of to-day. The noise of the campaign will pass. One government or another will be formed, but the country as a whole will remain in the same condition as before the dissolution of Parliament. Perhaps one may be permitted, therefore, to try and find one's way amongst the lessons of the last Labour Party Conference, touching on election questions only in such measure as they throw light on the work of "Labour's Parliament."

The Executive Committee of the Labour Party prepared its Report to the Twenty-fourth Congress in tones of victory. The Liberals were then peacefully supporting MacDonald's Government, and many thought that the patient oxen would go on sleeping quietly for a long time yet. On the Right there were still no clouds to be seen. The leaders were only worried by criticism from the Left. And the Report turned the full force of its "eloquence" against the Left Wing. There is none of that nervousness in the Report which characterised the famous "Preface." It is written

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in tones of solemn deliberation. And it is worth while dwelling on it in detail.

The whole philosophy of the Labour Party leaders is gathered up in one brief but expressive passage. "A Labour Ministry," proudly write the authors of the Report, "has shown that it can undertake the task of Government as seriously, as sincerely, and as successfully as any of its predecessors." I invite the reader to consider this sentence. Our leaders *boast* that they are just as serious, just as sincere and just as successful as the Governments of Tories and Liberals. Hitherto, we have always been under the impression that the Capitalist Parties were *insincere, not serious in their promises*, and that they were leading the country from disaster to disaster. The question arises naturally, was the game worth the candle? Was it worth while acquiring a Government, put forward by the workers, but inheriting the same vices as capitalist governments?

It must be admitted, moreover, that the leaders told all the naked, unvarnished truth about the first Labour Government. The only thing that they omitted to say was that they were thereby passing sentence of death upon it.

But the authors of the Report, who pretend to the title of leaders of the working class, were not content with this passage. In their defence of the present system they not only left far behind all the other parties of the Second International, including the hopelessly disgraced party of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, but they even went further back than some Radicals. In a special clause devoted to the "Communist peril," the apology of the system of oppression and exploitation is made in the following terms :—

"*This country* possesses *almost* a wholly enfranchised adult population, and a Parliament and system of Government that will respond to the direction of the working people so soon as they express intelligent desire for change through the ballot box."

This passage is less clear than the previous one. I have underlined two ambiguous words. It is not quite clear what the authors mean when they refer to "this country." Does this country include also the peoples of the East? It is not clear also how we are to understand the word "almost." Before we read the gospel according to MacDonald, we had become accustomed to the thought,

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which was considered almost a truism, that political freedom without economic rights is a deceptive phantom. It now turns out that the adult population of *this country* is almost free. All it lacks is intelligence.

But the authors of the Report can scarcely be as naïve and as ignorant as they make out. They know as well as we that the present Empire is organised with fire and sword. But, throwing responsibility for all the expressions of the present system on to the will of the working people, they thereby are sanctifying with the will of the oppressed their own passing over into the service of capitalism.

Some will say that my conclusions are too violent. I am concerned least of all with violence of form. But I am convinced that *any other interpretation of this passage is unthinkable.* To check the truth of this, I ask the reader carefully to study pages 38–40 of the Report. All these three pages pursue a single aim, namely, to distort the *idea* of proletarian dictatorship, which is a fundamental part of Socialism, and to disguise in as attractive a form as possible the *fact* of bourgeois dictatorship.

Only in the light of this "doctrine" can we understand that part of the Report which is devoted to "the first Labour Government." It occupies only eight pages. To illustrate the tone of this part of the Report, I quote in full the section on foreign affairs, which incidentally settles the question both of the Dawes Report and of the League of Nations.

This section says: "Universal and anxious interest was centred upon the proceedings of the Inter-Allied Conference held in London in the latter part of July and beginning of August.

"It is well known and recognised that the Labour Government have made tremendous efforts to bring about reconciliation and agreement on the very thorny problems arising out of the Peace Treaty and the payment of Reparations.

"These efforts were successful at the London Conference, when Inter-Allied Agreement on the basis of the Dawes Report was reached, and when the representatives of Germany, acting freely on equal terms, entered into the Agreement. The general question underlying the payment of Reparations will, doubtless, have to come up later; but the London Agreement is undeniably the first substantial step taken since the war to promote an atmosphere of

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conciliation and to open the way to a restoration of peace and international amity in Europe.

"The pronouncements of the Labour Government at the recent Assembly of the League of Nations on the question of security and disarmament have also helped to lay what is hoped to be the foundation of a real and lasting scheme of international disarmament."

It was painfully difficult to copy out this sickly-sweet and hypocritical report of the international policy of the first Labour Government.

MacDonald was summoned as a midwife at the birth of the most repulsive progeny of capitalist greed. He was further asked to cover the nakedness and the impotence of the notorious League of Nations by bouquets of social-pacifist phrases. He did this *dirty* work. And the Executive of the Labour Party, assuming the rôle of an election agent, hastens to declare the Dawes Report a work of peace and international friendship, and even brazenly announces that Germany, "acting freely on equal terms," gladly assumed the chains of slavery and disgrace.

Of course I cannot quote the whole Report here. It is sufficient to say that it is drawn up throughout in these tones of cheap advertisement, in which the advertising agents have identical praise both on the Labour Government and on the system which that Government served. But the Report represents only one side—true, at the present moment the decisive side. It reflects the views of the Liberals. But what is the attitude of the rank and file? Their views are expressed in another document, called the Agenda. This bulky booklet is not distinguished by the same singleness of purpose that runs through the Report. It even bears traces of confusion and disharmony. But it is a living denial of official optimism and opportunism.

"Serious" politicians superciliously smiled at the resolutions about Court functions. There were a large number of these resolutions and they really displayed a certain amount of simplicity. But they bear witness to the sincere indignation of honest workers at the servility of their leaders. Court dress made a profound impression on their imagination, because it displayed the Labour Ministers vividly before them in the rôle of lackeys, and forced

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the workers to think a little on the subject. On page 20 we find a resolution against participation in mediæval Court ceremonies, while page 21 goes on to condemn the Government's policy in trade disputes. The disillusioned local organisations went further. They tried to find some remedy against the " regrettable " policy of the Labour Government. Their class instinct prompted them to demand the strengthening and regularising of Party control over the Government, and an extension of the powers of the Party in the appointment of Ministers. In full agreement with this policy, dozens of organisations naturally went on to demand that the Communist Party should be accepted as a full member of that federation of workers' organisations known as the Labour Party.

There were even Labour organisations who dared to turn their simple minds on to questions of " high policy." These organisations, without skill or cunning, simply declared " that the danger of war is to-day greater in Europe than elsewhere " (see page 29 of the Agenda, and compare it with the sweet words of the Executive Report concerning an " atmosphere " of friendship). On the Dawes Report six organisations, including the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, declared " that it would tend to stabilise the present coolie standard of living of the German workers, and would be reflected in the increasing attempts of the employing classes in this country to depress the standard of the British worker to the German level." And the voice of these six organisations found a sympathetic echo in a number of resolutions from other organisations, who had not yet learned to speak as cunningly. There was even an organisation which was prevented by its thick-wittedness from grasping how the building of cruisers could be combined with talk of disarmament (page 31).

Some organisations displayed genuine Communist dementia. Instead of following in the footsteps of MacDonald and Thomas with praise of " the swift shuttles of the Empire's loom," they began talking about " the crimes committed by the British Government against subject races, in the interests of the extension of the Empire, and for imperialistic and capitalistic ambitions."

I shall not quote any more individual resolutions to be found on the pages of the Agenda. I will only say that there is a deep gulf between the Agenda, filled with sometimes contradictory resolutions

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which always reflect the real life of the rank and file, and the Report which strives to be " as sincere as it is serious," and in this follows the line adopted by the reports of capitalist parties.

The facts of these two documents promised a serious battle on the floor of the Conference. But the electoral fever turned everything upside down. Some simple people might think that the election campaign came unexpectedly, and nobody should be blamed for the fact that the Party Conference was changed into a glorified election meeting.

Is this the case ? One is inclined to think that the intelligent strategy of the leaders played a fairly large part in the real liquidation of the Congress. None of the three parties dares to assume responsibility for the new elections. All are very much afraid of the shopkeeper, who would like to go on doing business on Wednesday. We can, however, calmly and objectively survey the whole situation which produced the crisis.

For the space of eight months, the Labour Government worked like its predecessors, following their lead and the precedents they had created. The idyll was almost complete. The first apple of discord was the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. The British bourgeoisie quite correctly considers the existence of the Soviets as its own defeat. Reviewing its " glorious " past, it recalls that once upon a time it managed to conquer the Great French Revolution and restore the Bourbons. It has already spent considerable sums of money in attempting the restoration of the Romanoffs: and it is natural that the British bourgeoisie should have an attack of nerves when the question of the Soviets is raised. MacDonald acted extremely carefully, listening most attentively to the voice of High Finance. He was ready to interrupt negotiations on a question of principle—the right of the Revolution to nationalise private property. But the mysterious stranger who appears in the Agenda intervened, suspecting that MacDonald was giving up his right to a better future. MacDonald yielded to pressure from below. He hoped to atone for his sin in recognising the Revolution—a recognition which took place independently of his will—by a stab in the back of the European proletariat with the Dawes stiletto. The bourgeoisie praised him for the Dawes plan, but would not recognise the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. Thus arose the first and fundamental conflict. The

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bourgeoisie, in its hypocritically polite language, tried to knock into the heads of MacDonald and his colleagues that they were taken into its employment as office boys. MacDonald was aspiring to those small rights and powers which are usually entrusted by every reputable firm to its manager.

The conflict became more complicated with the Campbell case. At the end of July the Tories suggested to the Attorney-General that Campbell should be prosecuted for calling on the workers in uniform not to fire on their brothers. The obedient Attorney-General immediately began the prosecution. But here, too, the mysterious stranger appeared on the scene, and asked how a Labour Government could prosecute an honest revolutionary on the foundation of some archaic law invented in the struggle against the French Revolution. MacDonald had to give way. Once again he thought that in order successfully to balance between the Scylla of capital and Charybdis of Labour he must have a certain freedom of manœuvre. To set off his case to greater advantage, he displayed, it as an act of compassion towards "a crippled soldier," assuring the capitalists that the trial would have played into the hands of the Communists. But both parties raised the question clearly once again: "Office boy or manager?"

The union of both parties against the Labour Government rendered elections inevitable. But MacDonald still had a certain freedom to manœuvre. He might, on the question of the Campbell case, have assumed the offensive, and raised the question of the Sedition Laws, and also of the practice of the old political parties in respect of that spotless virgin called Justice. Such a postponement might have been utilised for mobilising the forces of Labour. But MacDonald was in a hurry. *And one of the reasons of his haste was the desire to avoid all quarrels at the Labour Party Conference.*

This strategic manœuvre proved quite successful. MacDonald appeared at the Conference as the victim of the dishonesty of the Capitalist Parties and demanded the unity of all forces to repel the enemy. The Left Wing either remained silent or supported MacDonald. The Agenda was pitilessly mutilated. The results of the work of the first Labour Government were drowned in a torrent of election cries. At Hull there was silence on the work of the Labour Government, in order not to interfere in the work of the

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Labour Party. And at Queen's Hall there was silence in order not to interfere with the elections !

Two important questions were nevertheless discussed, and it is necessary to consider them. I have in mind the relations with the Communists and the question of the nationalisation of banks.

On the question of the Communists the discussion took place on Tuesday, October 7, *i.e.*, a day before the defeat of the Government in the House of Commons. MacDonald was in charge. The Executive defended only two propositions: (1) " That the application for affiliation from the Communist Party be refused"; (2) "That no member of the Communist Party shall be eligible for endorsement as a Labour candidate for Parliament or any local authority." Defending these two propositions, the Executive paid a few compliments to the members of the Communist Party, remarking that " their energy and enthusiasm are undoubted." At the same time, the Executive insisted that " Communists cannot honestly hold membership in the Labour Party." But the discussion went on only around the two definite propositions of the Executive Committee.

The results are well-known. The Executive " conquered." And conquering, it literally under cover of the smoke of battle carried through a *third* resolution, " that no member of the Communist Party be eligible for membership of the Labour Party." As the voting went on, the Government majority dwindled. But on Wednesday MacDonald was able to come to the Liberals and Tories with the proud announcement that the Communists had been expelled, and that " His Majesty's Government is determined that, so far as it can help it, the propaganda of Communism is to have no chance in this country." The thirsty gods accepted the sacrifice, but would not be appeased.

MacDonald still had sufficient sense to rule that the expulsion would enter into force only after the Conference. One can imagine what the Conference would have been like if the Communists had been expelled on the very first day !

But were there not at the Conference, besides the Communists, Left Wingers of various sorts and calibre ? Yes, there were. And they served as a support for those who held in their hands the reins of the Conference. If the Agenda found some reflection at the

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Conference itself—not in the decisions, of course, but only in the speeches—this was only thanks to the energy of the expelled. In their concessions to the leaders, the Left Wing went so far that they permitted the latter to vote down the Industrial Workers' Charter and the Unemployed Charter. The leaders humbly looked into the eyes of the shopkeepers, and decided that they would not be pleased with the Charters. And the Left Wing did not wish to interfere at this " solemn " moment.

However, the Left Wing too entered the fray. They carried a resolution in favour of the nationalisation of banks. How hotly they spoke about it ! They were applauded even more hotly ! Our Left Wing friends have now only to take the moon as their lantern and search for this decision in " Labour's Appeal to the People "—a document about which we shall only say that it is just as serious and just as sincere as the manifestos of the Capitalist Parties. In return, however, the Labour Party officials hastened to rid themselves of the Communists to please the Liberals and the shopkeepers, even without awaiting the ruling of the Executive Committee.

The manifesto of the Labour Party contains only one line which deserves serious thought: " The path to our goal is long and narrow." And we shall add on our part that the last Labour Party Conference has made that thorny path even longer and more narrow.

The election fever will soon pass. Labour will again find itself at a broken altar. And we now, amidst the noise and clamour of the campaign, sound the alarm, and say to these who wrote the Agenda :—

" In the history of British Labour there have been times which were more difficult, but none which were so shameful."

* * * * *

The first days of the Election Campaign have shown that the Liberals and Tories are joining their forces for a political offensive against the working class. This political offensive to-day means an economic offensive to-morrow. There is the more reason for sounding the alarm.

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THE CAMPBELL CASE

By J. R. CAMPBELL

IT would be foolish to pretend that the Campbell Case was the real cause of the downfall of the first Labour Government. Nevertheless it is a case of some political significance, and it is as well that the facts connected with it should be stated fully once and for all.

In the first place it should be clearly understood that the articles appearing in the *Workers' Weekly* were not inserted in order to embarrass the Labour Government, nor because of the fact that such a Government was in office. On the contrary, they were inserted as a part of the Communist Party's anti-militarist campaign, on the tenth anniversary of the World War. These direct appeals to the fighting forces were natural and necessary parts of our effort to waken the working class—in and out of uniform—to a realisation of how war can in fact and practice be ended. The Russian workers in 1917 and the German workers in 1918 proved in practice that the way in which a working class can smash their war-makers is the way of revolt.

The I.L.P. official organ, the *New Leader*, has stated that the articles, constituting as they did incitement to mutiny were merely part of a vulgar political stunt. The *New Leader* asserted that it would have been brave to have inserted such articles during a World War, when the editor would most certainly have been shot, but that to insert them in times of peace was absolutely meaningless. This criticism is petty and stupid. If the struggle against war is to be taken seriously then anti-war propaganda must be carried on amongst the workers in the fighting forces as well as in industry, during peace as well as in war time.

To leave the soldiers entirely under the influence of their officers during periods of peace, and then issue appeals to them not to obey their officers when war has actually broken out, would be silly. The people who issued such appeals should be shot for stupidity if not for treason.

A Communist believes that it is necessary to start the campaign amongst the soldiers now. We did not believe that they would act in the manner indicated in the " Open Letter " immediately.

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It was merely the start of a serious campaign, using a moment when the minds of people were turned to the horrors of the last Great War.

That campaign we are continuing and shall continue by all the means at our disposal. Those of the Socialist movement who preferred, for no known reason, to hold their anti-war demonstrations some weeks *after* the anniversary of the great war seem to have no good reason for condemning us for the time we chose to launch our campaign.

The article in question was printed in our issue of July 25, and the Communist Party took the necessary step to insure that its appeal reached the fighting forces. As a consequence of this the *Morning Post* called for the arrest of the people responsible for the article. Questions were asked in the House of Commons concerning the *Workers' Weekly* articles on the same day that questions were asked concerning a pro-war speech made by a general when opening a war memorial. The Labour Minister's replies were to the effect that they did not intend to proceed with a case against the general, but were investigating the case of the editor of the *Workers' Weekly*.

A few days later Inspector Parker of Scotland Yard called at the Communist Party office and asked to see the Secretary about the articles in question. When he found that the Secretary was not in the office, he asked to see the editor. Questions were asked concerning the authorship of the article, and I had to say that I would not tell him who the author was. I was further asked whether I was responsible for the conduct of the paper and I accepted responsibility for everything that it contained.

Inspector Parker intimated on leaving that he would call round and see the Secretary, Comrade Inkpin, the following day. That night a special meeting of the Political Bureau decided to accept full responsibility for the article. On the following morning, when Inspector Parker called, he met not only Inkpin, but all the Political Bureau members who were in London at that time, and on being told that they accepted full responsibility he took their names. During this meeting Inspector Parker put a number of pointed questions to Comrade Inkpin attempting to fasten personal responsibility on to him.

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There is no doubt in my mind that Comrade Inkpin is the "dangerous person under police suspicion" mentioned by Sir Patrick Hastings in his speech.

The day following the Political Bureau sent a statement to its local organisations calling upon them to raise an agitation against the impending prosecution. It also drew up a statement for the Labour Members who were meeting in Parliament the following week.

On the Tuesday following the interview Inspector Parker again called and asked if I accepted responsibility for six articles of an anti-militarist character in the *Workers' Weekly* of July 25 and August 1.

On my accepting responsibility he then produced a warrant in connection with the article which appeared in the *Workers' Weekly* for July 25, and I was arrested. The night of my arrest Comrade Pollitt interviewed a number of Labour M.P.'s in the House of Commons, and they promised to raise the matter the following day, which they did. In the meantime the news of the arrest had created consternation in the Labour Movement throughout the country. There was a general impression amongst those who had not read the *Workers' Weekly* that the articles in question were merely an appeal not to shoot strikers, an opinion that was shared by most of the M.P.'s who asked questions in the House of Commons.

A full Executive of the Party was meeting two days after my release on bail, and my case was discussed at this meeting. It was decided that we could pick out no legal defence for the articles in question, and that my plea was, therefore, to be one of justification. It was also decided that I defend myself, relying merely on technical assistance from a solicitor.

It was agreed that leading members of his Majesty's Government should be brought into the witness box and examined as to their previous anti-war pronouncements. Comrades were instructed to find the necessary materials from the speeches and writings of Cabinet Ministers and did so. Material was found in the speeches of almost every prominent Minister except Mr. MacDonald. Mr. MacDonald's speeches in the past, like those of the present, are masterpieces of ambiguity. We have no informa-

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tion that our decision to call on members of the Government was known to the Government.

The day previous to coming up for trial I heard that Mr. Travers Humphreys, K.C., was going to conduct the case for the prosecution. We anticipated a big case. One does not usually utilise a steam hammer to crack a nut. To our surprise Mr. Travers Humphreys announced the withdrawal of the case, and we were left in a state of astonishment.

When we read over the statement of Mr. Travers Humphreys in the papers that evening, we realised immediately that his statement that "representations had been made" might lead to the conclusion that the Communist Party had made those representations. This we had to deny, and in our denial we asserted what appeared to us to be the only possible explanation for the withdrawal, namely, the pressure which had been brought to bear on the Government by the Labour Movement.

When the Tory Press started to make use of the case in order to bring about the downfall of the Labour Government we had to point out to the worker that Governments have repeatedly interfered in political prosecutions, citing the case of the persecution of our members in 1921.

When Parliament reassembled Sir Patrick Hastings gave a statement which was in some respects inaccurate. Amongst the inaccuracies was the statement that the article was a cutting from another publication. The reason for this statement does not reflect credit on the intelligence of Scotland Yard. After articles for the *Workers' Weekly* are set up in type "galley-proofs" are taken of them. These proofs are then cut and pasted on to a sheet of the *Workers' Weekly* in order to give the compositors an idea of the arrangement of the page.

The detectives while raiding the premises of our printers found a galley-proof of the "seditious article" pasted on to a page of "make-up," with corrections in my handwriting, from which they deduced the fact that it was a cutting from another paper.

As to the significance of the case. It is quite obvious that the case created disquiet amongst the Liberals and Tories. They realised that if such propaganda were permitted, the basis of the capitalist army could be gradually undermined. The *Manchester*

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Guardian published a ponderous article in which it talked about the army being a " neutral body " which must be safeguarded from political propaganda. What the *Manchester Guardian* really meant was that it must be safeguarded from working-class propaganda. There is no restriction on capitalist propaganda in the army. The whole atmosphere of military training is impregnated with that propaganda.

The capitalist class realised that the dropping of the case was useful to them in so far as it enabled them to identify the Labour Party with Communism. The Labour Government countered this move by inducing the Labour Conference to exclude the Communists.

Apart from illustrating the fact that the capitalists are not prepared to allow a minority Labour Government to exist except on the understanding that it carries through a policy approved by them, the Campbell Case has another value. It has called working-class attention to the fact that there still exists in the Statute Book laws which restrict working-class propaganda, and still more ugly laws, like the E.P.A., which give the Government the right to suppress any large-scale industrial movement on the part of the workers.

If the " Campbell Case " calls attention to these laws, and impresses the Labour Movement with the necessity for taking them off the Statute Book, it will not have been useless. Meanwhile is there any soldier, sailor or airman who reads a newspaper to whom the message of the Communist Party has not been carried, in some form or another, during the newspaper discussions and the political debates of the last few weeks ?

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ON THE ROAD TO INSURRECTION[1]—I

By V. I. LENIN

(*There appears below the first instalment of Lenin's work* On the Road to Insurrection, *whose forthcoming serial publication in* THE LABOUR MONTHLY *was announced last month.*)

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

This book includes nearly everything written by Lenin between the Kornilov rising, in the late summer of 1917, and the revolution of November (October, old Russian calendar), except *The State and Revolution*,[2] the series of articles entitled *For the Revision of the Party Programme*, and a few other brief articles. All his writings dealing with the question of the insurrection are contained in *On the Road to Insurrection*, but one section, *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?*, having already been published separately in English,[3] is omitted from the present translation.

Comrade Lenin wrote everything that is inserted in this collection after the "July days" when he was forced to flee from Kerensky's spies. First of all hidden in the suburbs of Petrograd, he lived for a time in a log cabin with a workman named Emelianov, then in a hut of branches in the depths of a forest; later, disguised as a locomotive fireman, he passed into Finland, where he found shelter at the home of a Finnish comrade, Rokis, formerly a workman in Petrograd. It was not until the end of September that Lenin succeeded in again re-entering Petrograd, where he stayed with a Bolshevik workman. And it was only on the eve of the insurrection that he could re-appear at Smolny.

These, then, were the circumstances in which Lenin never tired of explaining the coming armed clash of social forces, of exposing the Mensheviks' and Social-Revolutionaries' cowardly treachery, of pitilessly castigating any hesitation in the ranks of the Bolsheviks themselves, and of proving the inevitable necessity of the seizure of power. He himself was reduced to clandestine action and deprived of all immediate contact with the Party and the working masses, but that did not prevent him from appreciating, better than anyone else, the exact action called for by the political situation from day to day, and so making without any deviation towards the insurrection which concluded in the brilliant victory that autumn.

The problems that the Russian working class met with and, under the guidance of Lenin, solved during those months, are akin to the problems that the working class in every other country has also to prepare to face. Therein

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[1] Translation copyright in all English-speaking countries. Arrangements are being made for its eventual publication in book form in Great Britain and America.

[2] English translation published in 1919 by Allen & Unwin, and by the British Socialist Party (London) and the Socialist Labour Press (Glasgow); now obtainable in the American Edition from the Communist Bookshop, 16 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2. Price 1s.

[3] The Labour Publishing Company, 1921. Price 1s. 6d.

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—and not in any mere academic interest such as history can never have for a class in bondage or struggling for power—lies the historical significance to the workers of all Lenin's writings, and this applies in a very special way to *On the Road to Insurrection*, for there exists no other complete or comparable work of day-to-day studies of the practical strategical problems of an immediately imminent proletarian revolution; and without such understanding as is here found of the actual struggle for power no Marxism or Socialism is genuine.

Letter to the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour (Bolshevik) Party

END OF AUGUST, 1917.[4]

MAYBE these lines will arrive too late, for events are developing at a really giddy speed. However, I am taking the risk of writing them, for I consider it to be a duty.

The Kornilov rising[5] is (at such a moment and in such a form) a formidable and, one might say, a really unbelievable dramatic stroke.

Like every sudden and complete change in the political outlook it demands a revision of our tactics. And, as in every revision, we must be more than careful not to fail our principles.

To admit the point of view of those who advocate national defence or even (like certain Bolsheviks) would go *to the extent of coalition* with the Social-Revolutionaries, in support of the Provisional Government, would be, I am deeply convinced, to fall into the grossest error and at the same time to prove an absolute lack of principle. We will not become partisans of national defence *until after* the seizure of power by the proletariat, *until after* the offer of peace, until after the secret treaties have been cancelled and relations with the banks broken. Neither the capture of Riga,[6] nor the capture of Petrograd will make us partisans of national defence. Until the moment of the seizure of power by the proletariat, we are for the proletarian revolution, we are against the war, we are against the "defencists."

Even now, we must not support the revolution of Kerensky.

[4] Old Russian calendar throughout.

[5] Terminated, September 1, 1917, by the arrest of the principal participants at G.H.Q.

[6] By the Germans, on August 21. The entire bourgeoisie drew therefrom arguments as to the need for a strong government, for the re-establishment of discipline in the army, &c., &c.

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It would be a failure of principle. How then ?, it will be said, Must Kornilov not be fought ?—Certainly, yes. But between fighting Kornilov and supporting Kerensky there is a difference; there is a limit to all things, and that limit is passed by a few Bolsheviks when they fall for conciliation, and let themselves be *carried away* by the torrent of events.

We wage and shall continue to wage war on Kornilov, but we do not support Kerensky; we unveil his feebleness. There there is a difference. That difference is subtle enough, but most essential, and it must not be forgotten.

In what, then, does our change of tactics following on the Kornilov rising consist ?

In this: that we modify the form of our struggle against Kerensky. Without diminishing, the least bit in the world, our hostility, without withdrawing a single one of the words we have pronounced against him, without renouncing our intention to beat him, we declare that consideration must be given to the circumstances of the moment, that we will not concern ourselves at the present with overthrowing Kerensky, that we will now conduct the struggle against him in another way by emphasising to the people (and it is the people who are engaged in fighting Kornilov) the *weakness* and *vacillations* of Kerensky. That we were already doing previously. But now it is this which comes to *the forefront of our plan of campaign*, and therein lies the change.

Another change: at this moment we place equally *in the forefront of our plan of campaign* the reinforcing of our agitation for what might be called " partial demands " : Arrest Miliukoff, we say to Kerensky ; arm the Petrograd workers ; bring the troops from Cronstadt, from Vyborg and from Helsingfors to Petrograd ; dissolve the Duma[7] ; arrest Rodzianko; legalise the handing over of the big estates to the peasants ; establish working-class control of cereals and manufactured products, &c. And it is not only to Kerensky that we should put these claims ; it is not so much to Kerensky as to the workers, soldiers and peasants who have been *carried away* by the struggle against Kornilov. They must be carried further, they must be encouraged to demand the arrest

[7] This demand was satisfied on October 6, but the others not until the October revolution.

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of the generals and officers who side with Kornilov; we must insist that they immediately claim the land for the peasants, and we must suggest to them the necessity of arresting Rodzianko and Miliukoff, of dissolving the Imperial Duma, of closing down the *Rietch* and other bourgeois newspapers and bringing them before the courts. It is particularly the Left Social-Revolutionaries[8] who must be pushed in this direction.

It would be erroneous to believe that we are turning away from our principal objective: the conquest of power by the proletariat. We have, on the contrary, got considerably nearer to it, but *indirectly*, by a flanking movement. And *we must at the very same moment* agitate against Kerensky—but let the agitation be *indirect* rather than direct—by insisting on an active war against Kornilov. Only the active development of that war can lead us to power, but of that we must *speak* as little as possible in our agitation (we keep it well in mind that even to-morrow events may compel us to take power, and that then we will not let it go). In my opinion, these points should be communicated in a letter (a private one) to our agitators, to our propagandists' training groups and schools, and to the members of the Party in general. As to the phrases about the defence of the country, about the single revolutionary battle line of revolutionary democracy, about support of the Provisional Government, &c., they must be mercilessly combated because they are nothing but *phrases*. Now is the time for *action*: these phrases, gentlemen of the Social-Revolutionary and the Menshevik parties, have already been too much depreciated by your use of them. Now is the time for action, we must wage the war against Kornilov as revolutionaries, carrying the masses with us, awakening them, inflaming them (and Kerensky *is afraid* of the masses, he is afraid of the people). It is precisely in the war against the Germans that action is now necessary: it is necessary *immediately and unreservedly to propose peace to them on definite terms*. If that is done, there will either be an early peace or else a revolutionary war;[9] if not all the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries will remain the lackeys of imperialism.

[8] Not then in existence as a separate Party, but as a tendency inside the Social-Revolutionary Party.

[9] The Bolsheviks always opposed peace at any price. Lenin's thesis was exactly upheld by Kerensky's last Minister for War, Verkhovsky, whose resignation was demanded by the Allies.

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Concerning Compromise

SEPTEMBER 3, 1917.

THE word compromise indicates in politics the renunciation, by virtue of an agreement with another party, of certain of one's claims. The idea that the crowd has of the Bolsheviks, and the idea promoted by the gutter-press, is that the Bolsheviks consent never and with no one to any compromise.

This idea flatters us, as well as a part of the revolutionary proletariat, for it proves that even our enemies are compelled to recognise our fidelity to the fundamental principles of Socialism and of the revolution. But, truth to say, this idea does not correspond to reality. Engels was right when in his criticism of the *Manifesto of the Blanquist Communists* (1873) he mocked the latters' declaration: "No Compromise!" That is but a phrase, said he, for it often happens that circumstances impose a compromise on a party in battle, and it is stupid to condemn oneself never "to accept payment of a debt by instalments." But the duty of a truly revolutionary party is not to proclaim an impossible renunciation of every sort of compromise, but to know throughout all compromises, in so far as such are inevitable, how to remain faithful to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary goal; to its duty of preparing for the revolution and of educating the mass whom it must lead to victory.

For instance, the fact of participating in the Third and Fourth Dumas was a compromise, a temporary abdication of revolutionary claims.[10] But it was a compromise that had to be, for at that time the correlation of forces provisionally excluded the possibility of carrying on a mass struggle. To prepare for that struggle one had to know how to work inside that farmyard that was the Duma. History has shown that the Bolsheviks well understood the issue in this case.

We are at present concerned not with a compromise forced upon us, but with a voluntary compromise.

Our party, like every other party, aspires to political power. Our aim is the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat. Six months of revolution have confirmed with extraordinary exactitude, in the most forceful and startling manner, the justice and inevitability

[10] Formerly opposed by a fraction of the Bolsheviks.

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of that contention, precisely in the interests of the revolution. For without the dictatorship of the proletariat the people will be unable to obtain either a democratic peace, or the return of the land to the peasants, or complete liberty (that is to say, an entirely democratic republic). The march of events during these six months of revolution, the struggle of classes and of parties, the development of the crises of April 20-21,[11] of June 9-10,[12] of June 18-19[13] and July 3-5,[14] and of August 27-31,[15] have shown and proved it.

We are now faced with such a sudden, such a surprising upheaval of the Russian revolution, that we are in a position as a Party to propose a voluntary compromise, not to the bourgeoisie, our direct and principal enemy, but to those adversaries who are nearer to us, to the petit bourgeois democratic parties in office, to the S.-R.'s and to the Mensheviks.

It is only by way of exception, it is only in virtue of a special situation which apparently will last a very short time, that we can propose a compromise to those parties, and that we ought, it seems to me, to do so.

What is a compromise to us is the return to our demand of before July: All power to the Soviets ! Formation of a Government of Social Revolutionaries and of Mensheviks responsible before the Soviets.

Now, and only now, during a few days, or perhaps one or two weeks, could such a Government be created and peacefully consolidated. It very much looks as if it could assure the peaceful *progression* of the revolution and would contribute to the progression of the world movement towards peace, towards the victory of Socialism. It is only for the sake of this peaceful develop-

[11] A crisis caused by a note in which Miliukoff, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, promised to the Allies to continue the war until guarantees (Constantinople, &c.) were obtained. It led to the retirement of Miliukoff, and the formation of the first Coalition Government of May 6.

[12] A demonstration, arranged for the tenth of June by the Central Bureau of Factory Committees and the Bolshevik Party, to protest against "industrial anarchy and lock-outs by the employers," had to be cancelled on the 10th, on account of the opposition of the Congress of Soviets then assembled.

[13] On the 18th, the demonstration prepared by the opportunists changes into a triumph for the Bolshevik slogans : All Power to the Soviets ! Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers ! Down with the political offensive ! On the 19th a bourgeois counter-demonstration took place.

[14] A crisis caused by the resignation of the bourgeois ministers, leading to a spontaneous demonstration of the workers and soldiers that came under the direction of the Bolshevik Party, but was crushed by the Government which thenceforward gave itself over to reaction.

[15] A stroke by Kornilov's Commander-in-Chief to get, with or without Kerensky, the military dictatorship.

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ment of the revolution, it is only in order to profit from this precious possibility, such as is extremely rare in history, that the Bolsheviks, partisans of the world revolution and of revolutionary methods, could and should, in my opinion, agree to such a compromise. The substance of this compromise would be that without pretensions to participation in the Government (a participation impossible for an internationalist without the effective realisation of the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasants) the Bolsheviks would renounce their demands for the immediate handing over of all power to the proletariat and the poor peasants, and their employment of revolutionary methods to achieve the triumph of the demand. On the other hand, the compromise would involve two conditions which require nothing new of the S.-R.'s and the Mensheviks, namely, absolute liberty of agitation and the calling of the Constituent Assembly at the fixed date, or even within a shorter period.

The Mensheviks and the S.-R.'s in their capacity as the Government bloc would consent (supposing the compromise to be accepted) to form a Government entirely and exclusively responsible to the Soviets, to whom would be handed over all the machinery of power.

Therein would lie the "new condition." The Bolsheviks, it seems to me, should impose no other condition, for they could count on the fact that the entire liberty of agitation and the immediate realisation of a new democratisation in the composition of the Soviets (which would be re-elected) and in their functioning would by themselves assure the peaceful progression of the revolution, the *peaceful cessation* of the conflict of parties within the Soviets.

Perhaps this is no longer possible? Perhaps. But even if there remains one chance in a hundred that chance makes an attempt worth while.

What would the two contracting parties, the Bolsheviks on one hand, and the Social-Revolutionary and Menshevik bloc on the other, gain by this "compromise"? If they gain nothing thereby the compromise is evidently impossible and accordingly useless to talk about. Whatever difficulty its realisation may now present (after July and August, two months equivalent to a score

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of years of peaceable torpor), it seems to me that it is not yet quite impossible, and what makes me think this is the decision taken by the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks not to participate in the Government with the Cadets.[16]

The Bolsheviks will gain from this compromise in that they will secure the ability freely to propagate their point of view and the possibility of exercising their influence in the Soviets, thanks to the effective realisation of integral democracy. Nominally everyone already grants this freedom to the Bolsheviks. In fact, it is *impossible* under a bourgeois Government or under a Government in which the bourgeoisie joins, to wit, under any Government other than that of the Soviets. Under the Government of the Soviets this freedom would be *possible* (we do not say absolutely assured, but possible). Therefore, it is in order to try and realise this possibility that it would be convenient, at such a painful time, to make a compromise with the present majority in the Soviets. We have nothing to fear under a regime of genuine democracy, for life is on our side, and even the tendencies that are developing within the womb of the parties of an adversaries, the S.R.'s and the Mensheviks, will in time confirm the justice of our position.

The Mensheviks and the S.R.'s would gain by this compromise in the sense that they would obtain at one stroke the complete possibility of realising the programme of *their* bloc, by resting on the immense majority of the people and in assuring themselves of the ability to use " peacefully " their majority in the Soviets.

In this bloc, necessarily heterogeneous both as a coalition and because the petty bourgeois democracy is *always* less homogeneous than the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, two voices would, apparently, make themselves heard.

One would say: " Our path is neither with the Bolsheviks nor with the revolutionary proletariat. The latter's demands will be extravagant, and it will, by means of demagogue orations, drag the poor peasants in its wake. It will demand peace and a rupture with the Allies. And that is impossible. We are nearer to the bourgeoisie, with whom we have had a mild *quarrel*—a quarrel is

[16] In fact on August 31 the Petrograd Soviet had voted by 279 to 115 with 51 abstentions against the participation of the Cadets (Liberals) in the Government: " The sole issue is the constitution of a Government formed of representatives of the proletariat and the peasant class."

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not a rupture—over the Kornilov incident. We have quarrelled—well, we can make it up. Moreover, the Bolsheviks 'concede' us absolutely nothing, for all the insurrections that they'll try will be totally crushed as was the Commune of 1871."

The other voice will say: "To base one's arguments on the Commune is to reason superficially and even sillily. For, first of all, the Bolskeviks have learned a little from the experience of their precursors of 1871: they will not fail to put their hand on the State Bank, nor will they hesitate to march on Versailles; and the Commune, had it done that, might have won through. Furthermore, the Commune could not immediately offer the people what the Bolsheviks can if they take power, that is to say: land to the peasants, the immediate proposal of peace, effective control of production, an honourable peace with the Ukrainians, the Finns, &c. The Bolsheviks, in common parlance, have ten times as many trumps in their hand as had the Commune. The Commune implies a painful period of civil war, a prolonged stoppage to civilisation's peaceful development; it will facilitate the machinations of all sorts of MacMahons and Kornilovs, a grave danger to our bourgeois society. Is it reasonable to run the risk of the Commune?

"But the Commune is inevitable in Russia, if our bloc does not take power, if the situation remains as it has done from May 6 to August 31. The spirit of every workman, of every revolutionary soldier will without fail turn towards the Commune, he will believe in it, he will attempt to achieve it. The people, he will say to himself, is perishing; war, famine, ruin are decimating its ranks more and more seriously as each day goes by. Only the Commune can save us. Let us sacrifice ourselves, let us all die if need be, but long live the Commune! These are the thoughts which will fatally come into the minds of all the workers, and the Commune to-day will not be so easy to defeat as in 1871. The Russian Commune will have throughout the whole world allies a hundred times more mighty than the Commune of Paris. Is it sensible to take the chance of the Commune? Moreover one could not say that the Bolsheviks are granting us nothing by their compromise. In all advanced countries intelligent ministers highly appreciate every accord, small as it may be, with the people during war. And, as these ministers are business men, genuine ministers, their

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example is not to be disdained. Again, the Bolsheviks are rapidly becoming stronger, in spite of the repressions to which they are subjected and the feebleness of their Press. . . . Is it in these conditions reasonable to run the risk of the Commune ?

" We have our majority assured, the most impoverished sections of the peasant class will not stir for a long time yet; we have a good period of tranquillity before us; after that we shall see.

" It is improbable that in an essentially agricultural country the majority will follow the extreme elements. Therefore, in a truly democratic republic, insurrection against the recognised majority is an impossibility."

So will speak the second voice.

Perhaps, among the partisans of Martov or of Spiridonova[17] there will be a third voice saying: " Comrades, I am genuinely indignant that, reasoning about the Commune and the possibilities of its realisation, you both of you range yourselves without hesitation on the side of its foes. In one form or another you are both on the side of those who crushed the Commune. I am not going to agitate for the Commune, I cannot promise in advance to fight in its ranks as every Bolshevik will do; nevertheless I must say that *if*, *in spite of* my efforts the Commune survives, I shall rather help its defenders than its foes. . . ."

The divergences in the bosom of the " bloc " are considerable and inevitable, for the democratic petty bourgeoisie includes a mass of *nuances*, from the bourgeois who would become a Minister to the flea-bitten bourgeois almost disposed to adopt the platform of the proletariat. And what, at one moment or another, will be the outcome of this clash of contrary views ? No one can tell.

* * * * *

The above lines were written on Friday last, September 1, but as a result of unforeseen circumstances (history will tell that under Kerensky not all Bolsheviks were free to choose their domicile where best it suited them), they did not reach the editorial offices on the same day. So, after reading Saturday's and Sunday's papers, I said to myself: I think it is already too late

[17] Martov, Internationalist Social-Democrat, occupied with his group a place apart ; so did the Left Social-Revolutionaries, such as Marie Spiridonova.

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to propose a compromise. The few days during which the peaceful development of events was still possible have already passed. Yes, everything points to this. By one way or another, Kerensky will leave the Social-Revolutionary Party and consolidate his position with the help of the bourgeois *without* the S.R.'s, thanks to their inaction[18] . . . Yes, everything clearly shows that the days during which the possibility of setting forth on the path of peaceful development became by chance available have gone by beyond recall. There remains nothing to do but to send these notes to the editorial department accompanied by a request that they may be entitled "Belated Reflections"; even belated reflections are not, at times, without their uses.

(*To be continued.*)

[18] On September 1, Kerensky actually formed his "Directory" with Tereschtchenko, and laid an interdict on the internationalist newspaper *Novaia Zhizn*; the Central Executive Committee convoked a packed "Democratic Conference" as a counter to the Congress of Soviets arranged for the end of September. The Social-Revolutionary and Social-Democratic ministers Zarondny, Avxentiev and Skobelev resigned.

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The World of Labour

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INTERNATIONAL

Transport Workers' Congress[1]

THE Fourth Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation opened at Hamburg on August 7. There were 114 delegates, representing forty organisations from twenty-six countries, with a membership of 2,010,807. The total membership of the I.T.F. is returned at 2,078,223.

The Russian Transport Unions were not invited to the Congress, in spite of the famous united front agreement between them and the I.T.F. which was reached at the Berlin Conference in May, 1923.[2]

In his presidential address, Robert Williams strongly criticised the Dawes Report, and he was followed by Edo Fimmen, the Secretary, who read a long report on the international situation. Fimmen also declared decisively against the Experts' Report, the Versailles Treaty and the whole reparations policy, and stressed the importance of the Trade Union and working-class movement taking its stand rigidly on the basis of the class struggle.

Fimmen's report gave rise to a prolonged discussion, as a result of which a compromise resolution was passed by 1,780,384 votes against 52,200 with 263,014 abstentions.

In this resolution the Congress, while—

> realising fully the claims of France and Belgium for the restoration of their devastated areas, desires to point out the inevitable results of forcing upon Germany such reparation demands as will compel a further worsening of the conditions of the German proletariat and will threaten a departure from the eight-hour day.

On the Experts' Report the Congress made the following declarations :—

> Standing as we do for the socialisation of the Means of Transport, we emphatically protest against the sinister proposals to denationalise the well-

---

[1] This note is based on the official *Press Report* of the I.T.F.

[2] THE LABOUR MONTHLY, August, 1923, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 118-122.

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> organised German State Railways and to place them under the control of alien capitalists.
>
> We realised that payments of the sums suggested by the Dawes Report will provide reasons for German capitalists, closely allied and in co-operation with Allied capitalists, to demand the cancellation of the eight-hour day in Germany, as the first step, afterwards to be extended to Allied and neutral countries.
>
> We are of the opinion that in all countries the burden of paying for the cost of the war should be placed on those responsible for the war, namely, the capitalist, financier and landlord class.

The opposition to this resolution was headed by the French delegates, who objected particularly to a clause declaring against the view that Germany alone was responsible for the imperialist war. M. Bidegaray (French railwaymen—reformist C.G.T.) is credited with the remark that the war guilt was Germany's alone, and Germany must pay everything, "*even at the cost of a lengthened working day for the German worker.*" It is reported that these remarks roused the ire of the British delegation, one of whom properly stigmatised them as in the true Poincaré vein.

In view of M. Bidegaray's support of the denationalisation of the German railways under the Dawes Report, it is worthy of note that he was the proposer of the resolution on the Socialisation of the Means of Transport, which was carried unanimously: this resolution expressly stated that the I.T.F.

> requires its affiliated organisations to oppose in every way the transfer to private enterprise of transport systems at present run by the State.

The French Seamen's Union presented a resolution on the United States of Europe and the German Traffic Union a resolution on the eight-hour day (demanding the ratification of the Washington Convention), both of which were passed unanimously.

M. Jouhaux, fraternal delegate of the International Federation of Trade Unions, delivered himself of the oracular remark that :—

> The working class, if it would follow up its work for peace which is alone of any significance and which alone subserves the general interest—forgotten by capitalism—it must rally to its international organisations all those who wish to be free men in a free world.

On the fourth day the Congress divided into separate meetings of Seamen, Railwaymen, Dockers, Road Transport Workers, &c., which considered their own particular problems and reported back to the Congress.

As was to be expected, the left-wing attitude of Fimmen was called in question by the French and German delegations. They declared themselves in favour of his re-election as Secretary on condition that he always acted in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Committee.

In reply Fimmen admitted that recently he had not always followed the path desired by the Executive Committee, but that he was prepared to make every effort to avoid a repetition of such incidents. Nevertheless, he demanded the right to express his personal opinion, which he defined as follows :—

> From an organic point of view I consider our International to be a really unique organisation. I have much to criticise. I believe that we must move

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> to the Left and that the reproaches which certain non-affiliated organisations have made concerning us are well founded. I am and shall always be of opinion that, in the interests of the working class, we must unite if we wish to accomplish our task. This is what I am fighting for, and it is for this reason that I require my freedom of movement.

The Congress accepted this explanation.

It is very noticeable, however, that despite Fimmen's personal desire for the unity of the international Trade Union movement, the Congress took no steps whatever for the realisation of that unity, as the non-invitation of the Russian Unions shows. This is the more strange in that Melnichansky, one of the leaders of the Russian Transport Union, has stated that his Union was recently informed by the I.T.F. that the question of inviting them would be one of the items on the Congress Agenda.

Building Workers' Congress

THE Sixth Ordinary Congress of the International Union of Building Workers was held at Stockholm on June 24-25. The total membership is returned as 946,073.

The chief controversial question was the proposed admission of the Russian Building Workers. This was supported by Great Britain, Switzerland and Czecho-Slovakia, and opposed notably by Belgium and Holland.

Eventually admission was refused, by 10 votes to 3, on the grounds that the Russian Union had not fulfilled the promises they made to the previous congress.

Metal Workers' Congress

The principal discussion at this congress, which took place at Vienna in July, arose on the question of the eight-hour day. A number of reports were presented showing that metal workers in many countries were being forced to work longer hours: a German delegate stated that over 50 per cent. of the German metal workers were working more than forty-eight hours a week.

A resolution was passed calling for the defence of the eight-hour day, and urging all affiliated unions to bring pressure on their Governments to secure the ratification of the Washington Convention.

After hearing a representative of the Russian Metal Workers' Union, who declared that the Russian Union was prepared to abide by all the rules of the International, the congress decided that a special conference should be called to settle this question.

Miners' Congress

The 27th Ordinary Congress of the International Miners' Federation was held at Prague from August 4-9.

The *Press Service* of the International Federation of Trade Unions gives

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the following approximate figures, comparing the present membership of several constituent unions with that of two years ago:—

	1922	1924
Austria	30,000 ...	20,000
Belgium	98,000 ...	80,000
Czecho-Slovakia	116,000 ...	70,000
France	100,000 ...	80,000
Germany	460,000 ...	249,000
Great Britain	800,000 ...	800,000
Holland	2,500 ...	2,000
Hungary	17,000 ...	18,500
Luxemburg	2,000 ...	—
Poland	— ...	45,000
Roumania	— ...	11,500
Spain	— ...	15,000
United States	500,000 ...	600,000
Jugo-Slavia	300 ...	1,000

The congress agreed unanimously to a demand for a legal minimum wage for miners of all countries. The British delegation appealed to those countries which had longer hours to shorten the working day. With regard to anti-war activity the French delegation proposed a twenty-four-hours' protest strike against war, should it break out: this was dropped, and it was finally decided that, if war was threatened, the Miners' International Committee should at once be summoned to take "practical steps."

The Russian Miners' Union, which made its fifth application in three years, was refused admission.

Textile Workers' Congress

This Congress met at Vienna on August 18. Thirteen countries were represented by ninety-one delegates.

The usual eight-hour day Washington Convention resolution was passed, after the Continental delegates had drawn a grim picture of the longer hours that were being worked, *e.g.*, in Germany, Hungary, Italy, Holland. The congress expressed itself in favour of Free Trade.

Without discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

> The Russian textile workers cannot be admitted to the International Association of Textile Workers until unity has been established between the I.F.T.U. and the Red International of Labour Unions and the latter body has affiliated to the I.F.T.U.

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BOOK REVIEWS

DOES INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM EXIST?

Labour's Alternative : The United States of Europe or Europe Limited. By Edo Fimmen. (Labour Publishing Company. Paper, 1s. 6d.)

THIS little book revolves round a simple thesis : the author is seeking to point the moral of international working-class solidarity (*organised* solidarity) by demonstrating the growing unity of the forces of "international capitalism." Now the urgency of the moral no one will question ; and Fimmen himself has shown, in his Herculean struggle within the Amsterdam International for international trade union unity, that he is striving with all his power to translate the word into deed.

What calls for very serious question, however, is the truthfulness of this concept of "international capitalism," the "international bourgeoisie," &c.

Now it must be stated quite clearly that in the loose sense in which the terms are commonly employed there is no such thing as *international* capitalism, the *international* bourgeoisie, *international* finance.

We live in the period of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism : and the salient fact of post-war capitalist development has been, not, as Fimmen suggests, the wiping out of imperialist conflict, but its intensification. This intensification of the conflict between the great imperialist groups (England, France, America, Japan) is none the less real for the thrusting of new forms on it by historical circumstances.

In his articles in THE LABOUR MONTHLY, H. P. Rathbone exposed very clearly the fundamental conflict between British and American imperialism in the Argentine and in Canada. The titanic struggle between the oil trusts—Royal Dutch-Shell (British imperialism) against Standard Oil (American imperialism)—is common knowledge.

Take the most spectacular example of all—the Reparations question. Can it be seriously supposed that if capitalism were really "international" all the years since the Armistice and since Versailles would have been spent in that endless series of conferences, alarums and excursions ? No, the story of Reparations is the story of imperialist conflict.

It is a conflict that, with the adoption of the Dawes Report, has resulted in the victory of Anglo-American imperialism—with American imperialism the dominant factor—over French imperialism. There is as much "international agreement" about the present Reparations "settlement" as there is in the dictation of terms by a victorious State to its vanquished enemy after a long and bitter war.

Yet Fimmen can say that the capitalists of all lands—

> have renounced the idea of expansion at the cost of rival capitalist groups. They have renounced the old imperialist aim, in pursuit of which one section of the bourgeoisie hoped to raise itself to the detriment of other sections.

The facts already quoted are sufficient to show that this statement is manifestly untrue.

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Again, Fimmen quotes the formation of the "International Bank in Amsterdam" in February of this year as an example of the "internationalisation" of capital. It was, of course, nothing of the sort: it was founded under the dominant influence of British imperialist finance-capital (Kleinworts and the Westminster Bank) for the purpose of exporting capital to Germany, *i.e.*, the imperialist exploitation, the colonisation of Germany.

Further, Fimmen declares that "the colonies are favourite sites for the concentration of international capital." Now it may be the case that capital of various "nationalities" participates, say, in the exploitation of oil deposits in the East Indies, or rubber in the Malay States, or cotton in the Sudan, or the construction of a railway to open up a Chinese province. But in every such instance we find that there is a dominant factor—the imperialist finance-capital of one of the great imperialist groups.

The pre-war international cartels may be likened to the diplomatic relations that subsist between States in time of peace: they in no way affected fundamental antagonisms, they represented the "Balance of Power" at the particular moment. That is all. The war transformed the struggle between the imperialist trusts from the "diplomatic" stage of the international cartel to the open armed struggle.

To sum up: all this vague talk about "international capitalism" loses sight of the outstanding fact of contemporary capitalist development—the struggle between the great imperialist groups, a struggle which is now clearly leading to a new imperialist war, a struggle which, viewed dialectically, equally clearly bears within itself the germs of the world revolution. In this struggle are involved the satellites of the great imperialist groups (Belgium, Holland, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Balkan States, &c)—which may in fact be considered as semi-colonial countries—as well as the colonial countries proper.

Fimmen's thesis is, therefore, incorrect. And from this theoretical error the gravest practical mistakes may ensue.

A great part of Lenin's writings was devoted to the exposition of the fact that the distortion and falsification of the theories of Marx by Kautsky and the Social-Democrats generally led fatally to opportunism, to a united front with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary working class. The same danger may be discerned with Fimmen, as with all those would-be Marxists, notably in England, who have been wont to write so glibly about "international capitalism," "international finance," &c.

The cloven hoof can be clearly seen when Fimmen writes:—

> Merely through class instinct, the bourgeois in every land are inclined to come to the help of their classmates all over the world whenever bourgeois privileges are threatened. But now, thanks to the international mingling of capital, an additional motive has come into play. Even apart from class instinct and the general working of class interest, the immediate interest of a proprietary caste makes it impossible for the bourgeoisie to tolerate an economic revolution even within the boundaries of a single land. A successful proletarian revolution leads to the expropriation by the revolutionary proletariat, not only of the bourgeoisie in the land where the revolution has occurred, but also of the international bourgeoisie. . . . Every economic revolution, therefore, will

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summon into the arena the capitalists and the governments of all bourgeois States throughout the world.

This statement, for all Fimmen's attempt to use it as a cogent argument for a better international organisation of the working class, is instinct with defeatism. It is analogous to Kautsky's theory (advanced in 1915) of the development of a "supra-imperialism" or "ultra-imperialism"—which was simply an attempt to screen his own bankruptcy as a "revolutionary Marxist," and which was thoroughly shattered by Lenin in *The Collapse of the Second International.* It bears a most remarkable resemblance to the theory advanced by Bertrand Russell in 1922—at the height of his anti-Bolshevik campaign—that a great "international financial consortium" was in process of formation which would effectively destroy all chances of the proletarian revolution for many, many years to come.

It is the argument that the fainthearts and the doubting Thomases might have been heard muttering during the German crisis last year—that the proletarian revolution could not succeed in Germany because of "inevitable" Allied intervention. It is an argument that, carried to its logical conclusion, would postpone the revolution to the coming of the coquecigrues. That is to say, it is a fundamentally counter-revolutionary argument.

As for Fimmen's proposals for a re-organisation of the international Trade Union movement on the basis of powerful industrial Internationals federated into some new all-inclusive Trade Union International—they are naturally vitiated by this fatal flaw in his theoretical analysis. In any case the Trade Unions, however re-organised, nationally or internationally, cannot alone lead the working class to the seizure of power. And Fimmen has no word to say of the revolutionary working-class party, the International Party, of which this is the historical task.

G. A. H.

A SENSE OF PROPORTION

History of Political Thought. By Raymond G. Gettel, Professor of Political Science in the University of California. (Allen & Unwin. 18s.)

This is a work of 511 pages. The section entitled "Bolshevism" is one and a half pages.

A. E. E. R.

HISTORY FOR THE WORKERS

The Industrial Revolution in South Wales. By Ness Edwards. (The Labour Publishing Company. 4s. 6d. cloth, 2s. 6d. paper.)

MARX set the fashion in social history, and after he had plundered the stores of official documents, economic writings and statistics to build up a true conception of how and why society existed, the old rigmarole of political, military, constitutional and ecclesiastical history was exposed as the jaded surface work that it was.

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The ground he opened up was soon trodden by bourgeois intellectuals, glad to get new material to write up or eager to prove some present-day policy or to satisfy some soul attitude. A steady stream of economic or social history studies poured forth. And when the workers began to ask for knowledge of their lives and of the lives of their ancestors this tap was turned on, till a smattering of manorial organisation, or the cotton wheel, or the new model A.S.E. became the *sine qua non* of a modern trade union official. This was an important fact in determining working-class policy, for history, especially "social history," however it is written, teaches political strategy for to-day; it supplied the ideological background for imperialism (Knowles) or Fabianism (Webb) or social democracy (Hammond) or Tory democracy (Fay), for any and everything except for the creation of a working-class outlook.

Yet it was for this that Marx had used history and, as the working-class revolt gathered, it was for this that workers again turned to history. Then a new danger was presented. Marxism began and ended as a syllogism, to be found in the Appendix and Introduction. But the old bourgeois material, grouped in much the same way, even emphasised in much the same way would be trotted out to fill the book. What should have been a living, elastic interpretation became a theory sandwiching the product of bourgeois intellectualism. To re-write history with Marxism as the guiding thread, putting every incident and movement in its proper place, is the job of working-class historians, which, fortunately, they are beginning to carry out.

Ness Edwards has made a not unsuccessful effort to do it for one part of the country and for a certain limited period. He deals with the South Wales industrial area, at the time of the coming of the "big industry," say between 1760 and 1830. He is open to some criticism for not making clearer, by bringing out the differences between industrial conditions than and now, the big changes in industrial technique since that date. But the period serves as an admirable species exhibit of the development of class struggle in relation to economic change.

Edwards describes the composition of the new classes; he shows that the capitalists were largely a section of the old merchant capitalists or industrialists from elsewhere in search of cheap labour or material. He might have expanded this part and also given some more details of the lives of these men. An estimate of the profits made in the period would also be valuable. The workers were flung into the new mines and factories from all places. For the most part they were migrants, especially Irish; in fact, one rather gets the impression that a Welshman from South Wales is a mythical personage. The conditions in which they lived and worked were ghastly; Edwards describes them at some length, using the blue books written by the first of the bourgeoisie to notice that, as a class, they could not afford to slaughter all the workers.

The class struggles of the period were double-edged, of the capitalists and the workers against the landed classes with their semi-feudal order and of the workers against the capitalists. Thus the owners who are out to advocate "every species of reform" and are grieved because Merthyr as "the centre of important speculations and of great trade" has not got as much political power as a few huts (p. 78) tolerate the building of houses with one w.c. for 50 or 100 persons, make hay of the anti-truck laws and meet applications for increases

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of wages with troops. And the workers who at one moment threaten "every one who was an enemy to Reform should be hung on the gallows" (p. 77) are then next driven to rush the soldiers under the leadership of "Lewis the Huntsman" exclaiming :—

> We are met, boys, to have our wages raised, instead of which the masters have brought the soldiers against us. Now, boys, if you are of the same mind as I am, let us fall upon them and take their arms away. (P. 80.)

The story of the class struggle should, it might be suggested, be carried on up till the end of the Chartist period, instead of to 1833 ; Chartism ended, and at the same time summed up and clarified, the epoch of working-class revolt dealt with here. It was a period of experiment and report, but there is no reason for Ness Edwards' attitude of depreciation and apology for the workers. In heroism and effort they set a tradition which should still be an inspiration to the Welsh workers.

These faults apart, which indicate, especially the question of date, that Edwards has not yet quite escaped the bourgeois habit, the book is an effort to be recommended.

H.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Co-operative Movement. By John Hamilton, Chairman of Executive, National Council of Labour Colleges. (The Plebs League. 6d.)

The Comitadji Question in Southern Serbia. By R. A. Reiss, D.Sc. (The Author.)

The Fascisti Exposed : A Year of Fascist Domination. By the late Giacome Matteoti. Translated by E. W. Dickes. (I.L.P. 2s. 6d.)

Social Legislation. By J. Oudegeest (Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions). With a Memorandum on the Position of Social Legislation since the War. (I.F.T.U., Amsterdam.)

A Searchlight on the European War. By C. H. Norman. (Labour Publishing Company. 6s.)

The Operative Builder. Vol. III, No. 4, September, 1924. (National Federation of Building Trade Operatives. 6d.)

Fascism. By L. W. (The Plebs League. 6d.)

Family Limitation. Handbook for Working Mothers. By Margaret Sanger. With a Foreword by Leonora Eyles. (Rose Witcop, 6d.)

Die Arbeir. A Monthly Journal of Trade Unionism and Economics, edited by Th. Leipart. Vol. I, No. 1, July 15, 1924. (Publishing Company of the General Federation of German Trade Unions, Berlin.)

Labor 1924 *Annual.* Vol. V, No. 1, September 1, 1924. (*Alberta Labor News*, Edmonton, Alta. $1.00.)

Irish Transport & General Workers' Union Annual Report for 1923. (Dublin. 1d.)

The Fife Miners' Union Split. (Mineworkers' Reform Union.)

Legal and Economic Conditions of Industrial and Commercial Activity in Soviet Russia. By P. Apostol, Count W. N. Kokovtzoff, Charles Miller, Prof. A. Michelson, Prof. P. Gronsky, Prof. M. Bernatzky, A. Miller, and Prof. P. Pilenko. (J. Povolozky & Compagnie, Paris ; London : P. S. King & Son. 3s. 6d.)

Education. A Medley in Four Acts. By Frank J. Adkins. (Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d.)

Die Front, 1918-1919. By Larissa Reissner. (Verlag für Literatur und Politik, Vienna.)

Civil Service Confederation Third Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, 1923-1924.

Six Months of Labour Government. A Reply to the Unionist Publication entitled "Five Months of Socialist Government." (I.L.P. Information Committee. 2d.)

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The Workers and the Anglo-Russian Treaty: Why the Treaty must be Ratified. By A. A. Purcell, M.P. (Chairman of the Trades Union Congress) and E. D. Morel, M.P. (Editor of *Foreign Affairs*). (Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee. 1d.)

A Practical Policy for Unemployment. Weekly Notes for Speakers, No. 261. (I.L.P. Information Committee. 2d.)

Russia in 1924. By William Z. Foster. (Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A. 10 cents.)

The Law or the Spirit. By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. (The St. Catherine Press. 1s.)

Sat Sri Akal. The Struggle for Freedom of Religious Worship in Jaito. By Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsat. (Swarajya Press, Madras.)

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G. BERNARD SHAW

on REPARATIONS and the SOUTH WALES COAL TRADE

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A memoir of Anatole France by Henri Barbusse has been written for "The Labour Monthly" and will appear in our next issue (December).

Subscription form on last page of this issue.

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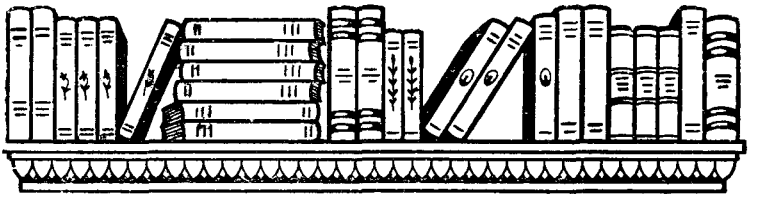

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